

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 02471 01 OF 03 121757Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

SAM-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 OMB-01 DHA-02 /080 W

----- 053938

R 121745Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6440

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

USMISSION USBERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 02471

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EC, PFOR, GW

SUBJECT: GENSCHER'S PLANS TO EXPLOIT TINDEMANS REPORT

SUMMARY: GENSCHER REPORTEDLY PLANS TO USE ELEMENTS OF
THE TINDEMANS REPORT AS A VEHICLE TO VOICE HIS SUPPORT
FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND TO ADVANCE THE FDP'S

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 02471 01 OF 03 121757Z

POLITICAL POSITION IN EUROPE, ACCORDING TO FONOFF

SOURCE WHO APPEARS TO BE COGNIZANT OF GENSCHER'S
THINKING. END SUMMARY

1. FOREIGN MINISTER (AND FDP CHAIRMAN) GENSCHER
REPORTEDLY PLANS TO USE THE TINDEMANS REPORT AS A PLAT-
FORM TO LAUNCH THREE PROPOSALS DESIGNED:

A. TO DEMONSTRATE HIS SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN INTE-
GRATION, AND;

B. TO REDOUND TO HIS PERSONAL POLITICAL FORTUNE,
AS WELL AS HIS PARTY'S POSITION IN EUROPE.

2. SPECIFICALLY, GENSCHER PLANS:

A. TO ENDORSE TINDEMANS' RECOMMENDATION FOR
IMPLEMENTATION OF A COMMON FOREIGN POLICY;

B. TO CALL FOR DRAFTING BY THE EUROPEAN PARLIA-
MENT OF AN EUROPEAN BILL OF HUMAN AND SOCIAL
RIGHTS, AND;

C. TO INTERPRET TINDEMANS' REFERENCE TO THE DESIRE
OF THE EUROPEAN PEOPLES FOR UNION BY
PROPOSING CREATION OF A TRANS-EUROPEAN
SOCIETY. THIS POINT MEANS, FOR PARTY CHAIR-
MAN GENSCHER, INCREASED LINKS BETWEEN THE FDP
AND LIBERAL PARTIES IN OTHER EUROPEAN
COUNTRIES.

3. COMMON FOREIGN POLICY: GENSCHER IS REPORTED TO BE
DISTURBED BY THE LACK OF UNITY AMONG THE NINE IN SUCH
FORA AS THE UN. HE BELIEVES THAT GREATER, BUT LIMITED,
UNITY CAN BE OBTAINED AT LITTLE COST, AND THEREFORE,
WANTS TO MOVE RAPIDLY TO ACHIEVE THE ACHIEVABLE. IN
THIS SENSE HE DIFFERS FROM TINDEMANS, WHO CONCENTRATED
ON WHAT HE CALLED THE AREAS OF FOREMOST CONCERN FOR THE
NINE. GENSCHER BELIEVES THAT THE NINE SHOULD CRAWL
BEFORE IT WALKS. IN OTHER WORDS, IT SHOULD AGREE ON A
COMMON FOREIGN POLICY IN THOSE AREAS WHICH ARE OF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 02471 01 OF 03 121757Z

RELATIVE UNIMPORTANCE WHERE, FOR THIS VERY REASON, UNITY
CAN BE ACHIEVED AT LITTLE COST. THIS ATTITUDE SOME-
TIMES TRANSLATES INTO COOPERATION FOR FORM'S SAKE AND
ACCOUNTS FOR THE FRG INTRODUCING INTO THE EC POLITICAL
MECHANISM SUBJECTS ON WHICH THE NINE DOES NOT HAVE A
CRUCIAL INTEREST.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 02471 02 OF 03 121805Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

SAM-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 OMB-01 DHA-02 /080 W

----- 054088

R 121745Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6441

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

USMISSION USBERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 02471

4. ON THE FOUR PRIORITY AREAS IDENTIFIED BY TINDEMANS,
GENSCHER WANTS THE FOLLOWING:

A. NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER: GENSCHER BELIEVES

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 02471 02 OF 03 121805Z

THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES MUST COMMIT THEMSELVES TO A REAL TRANSFER OF RESOURCES TO THE THIRD WORLD AND OPEN THEIR MARKETS TO THE PROCESSED PRODUCTS OF THE THIRD WORLD. AT THE SAME TIME, THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES SHOULD RESIST PRESSURE TO MOVE TOWARD A MORE DIRIGISTIC SYSTEM OF WORLD TRADE. THE FRG WOULD WELCOME AGREEMENT AMONG THE NINE ON THESE PRINCIPLES. IT SUPPORTS, IN THE NAME OF EUROPEAN UNITY, COMMON REPRESENTATION OF THE NINE AT CIEC, COMMON STANDS AT THE UN, AND JOINT DEMARCHES IN THE THIRD WORLD. THE FRG IS READY TO CONTRIBUTE TO A COMMON DEVELOPMENT AID POLICY ONCE COMMON CRITERIA ARE AGREED ON.

B. RELATIONS WITH THE US: GENSCHER BELIEVES THAT THE NINE AND THE US ALREADY HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE. HE DOES NOT SUPPORT TINDEMANS' RECOMMENDATION THAT ONE MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL BE DELEGATED TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF ALL NINE MEMBERS.

C. SECURITY: TINDEMANS' RATHER MODEST RECOMMENDATIONS THAT THE NINE EXCHANGE VIEWS ON DEFENSE MATTERS AND EUROPEAN ASPECTS OF MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ON SECURITY AND EXTEND ITS CSCE CONSULTATION SYSTEM TO DETENTE IN GENERAL TRACK WELL WITH FRG POLICY. WHILE THE FRG SUPPORTS COOPERATION IN THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMAMENTS, GENSCHER FEELS THAT MORE CONCRETE PROGRESS HAS BEEN AND IS LIKELY TO BE MADE IN EXTRA-EC FORA. HE WOULD LIKE, HOWEVER, TO SEE THE WORK WHICH IS BEING DONE ELSEWHERE (IEPG, EUROGROUP) BE GIVEN AN EC FLAVOR. HERE THE QUESTION IS ONE OF MEMBERSHIP AS MUCH AS SUBSTANCE.

D. EUROPE'S IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS: GENSCHER SUPPORTS EC ACTION, BUT DOES NOT BELIEVE THE FRG SHOULD HAMSTRING ITSELF WHEN THE NINE CAN-

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 02471 02 OF 03 121805Z

NOT AGREE TO GO AS FAR OR AS FAST AS THE FRG

WOULD LIKE (SEE GERMAN ACTIONS ON CYPRUS
AND PORTUGAL).

5. EUROPEAN BILL OF HUMAN AND SOCIAL RIGHTS:
GENSCHER WAS REPORTEDLY STRUCK BY THE ATTENTION
TINDEMANS GAVE TO THE DESIRE OF THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE
FOR UNITY. HE INTENDS TO CALL FOR THE DRAFTING OF AN
EUROPEAN BILL OF HUMAN AND SOCIAL RIGHTS. HE FURTHER
BELIEVES THAT THIS TASK SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN BY THE
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, WHICH WOULD NOT ONLY BE AN
APPROPRIATE ORGAN, BUT WOULD ALSO BENEFIT FROM BEING
GIVEN THIS RESPONSIBILITY. THE DESIRABILITY OF GIVING
THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT INCREASED DUTIES APPARENTLY
OUTWEIGHS IN GENSCHER'S MIND THE TRADITIONAL ROLE OF
THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE, WHICH COULD ALSO LOGICALLY DRAFT
THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

6. TRANS-EUROPEAN SOCIETY: GENSCHER REPORTEDLY PLANS
TO POINT TO THE DESIRE TINDEMANS SAID HE FOUND ON THE
PART OF THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE FOR UNITY. HE THEN PLANS
TO BUILD ON THIS SECTION OF THE TINDEMANS REPORT TO
ADVOCATE THE CONSTRUCTION OF A TRANS-EUROPEAN SOCIETY
BY THE CREATION AND STRENGTHENING OF LINKS BETWEEN
VARIOUS NATIONAL GROUPS. GENSCHER'S REAL INTEREST HERE
IS ENHANCEMENT OF HIS AND HIS POLITICAL PARTY'S (THE
FDP) POSITION IN EUROPE AND THE FRG. GENSCHER HAS SEEN
SOME RESEARCH THAT INDICATES THAT THE SOCIALISTS WILL
BE IN A PERMANENT MINORITY IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
UNLESS THEY FORM A COALITION WITH THE COMMUNISTS, WHICH
HE DOES NOT BELIEVE THEY WILL DO. WHILE A COALITION OF
CONSERVATIVE PARTIES COULD RESULT IN A MAJORITY, IT
WOULD INCLUDE SUCH DISPARATE ELEMENTS AND PARTIES THAT
IT WOULD PROBABLY NOT COME ABOUT, OR, IF IT DID, WOULD
NOT LAST LONG. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SAME RESEARCH
SUGGESTS THAT THE LIBERAL PARTIES OF EUROPE ARE
COMPATIBLE PARTNERS AND THEREFORE CAN ASPIRE TO

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 02471 03 OF 03 121801Z

43
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

SAM-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 OMB-01 DHA-02 /080 W

----- 054020

R 121745Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6442

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

USMISSION USBERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 02471

GREATER POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE IN AN EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

THAN THEY PRESENTLY HAVE ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL.

GENSCHER, THE PARTY CHAIRMAN, SMELLS POLITICAL BENEFIT

HERE FOR BOTH HIMSELF PERSONALLY AND THE FDP AS A

PARTY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 02471 03 OF 03 121801Z

7. IT IS NOT CLEAR TO THE EMBASSY WHERE AND WHEN GENSCHER WILL LAUNCH THE ABOVE PROPOSALS. HE WILL MOST PROBABLY WAIT FOR THE INTER-MINISTERIAL CONSIDERATION OF THE TINDEMANS REPORT SCHEDULED FOR FEBRUARY 18 AND THEN SEEK A PUBLIC PLATFORM FROM WHICH TO LAUNCH THEM. WE SUSPECT THAT GENSCHER WANTS TO MOVE EARLIER RATHER THAN LATER, ESPECIALLY AFTER WILLY BRANDT, SENSING THE SAME OPPORTUNITY FOR FAVORABLE POLITICAL FALLOUT, ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD BE A CANDIDATE FOR ELECTION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. A MEETING OF EC

LIBERAL PARTIES SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN STUTTGART
MARCH 25-26 MAY BE THE OCCASION GENSCHER IS WAITING FOR.

8. THE SOURCE OF MOST OF THE INFORMATION GIVEN ABOVE IS
BARTHOLD WITTE, A MEMBER OF THE POLICY PLANNING STAFF OF
THE FOREIGN OFFICE. HE HAS BEEN DESCRIBED TO US BY
ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE SAME OFFICE AS AN FDP MAN
(ALTHOUGH HE IS A CAREER DIPLOMAT) WHO WAS BROUGHT INTO
THE FOREIGN OFFICE BY GENSCHER TO WORK ON THE
EC QUESTIONS. WITTE HIMSELF CONFIRMED THAT GENSCHER PUT
HIM ON THE POLICY PLANNING STAFF SO THAT HE COULD TAKE
A LONG-TERM VIEW OF THE EC AWAY FROM BUREAUCRATIC
LIMITATIONS.
CROWLEY

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REPORTS, ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976BONN02471
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760054-0065
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760257/aaaabxkq.tel
Line Count: 345
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26 MAR 2004 by ElyME>; APPROVED <03 AUG 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GENSCHER'S PLANS TO EXPLOIT TINDEMANS REPORT SUMMARY: GENSCHER REPORTEDLY PLANS TO USE ELEMENTS OF
TAGS: ECIN, PFOR, GE, XT, EEC, (TINDEMANS, LEO), (GENSCHER, HANS DIETRICH)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006